

## Message Text

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ACTION AF-18

INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 IO-13 ADP-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-03

INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-15

USIA-15 OMB-01 CU-04 OPR-02 SIL-01 LAB-06 NIC-01

RSR-01 /141 W

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R 281309Z AUG 73

FM AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8518

INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA

AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN

AMCONSUL DURBAN

AMEMBASSY GABORONE

AMCONSUL JOHANNESBURG

AMEMBASSY MASERU

AMEMBASSY MBABANE

AMEMBASSY PARIS

USMISSION USUN NY

AMEMBASSY LONDON

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 PRETORIA 3054

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINT, PINS, WA, SF

SUBJ: NAMIBIA: SAG LIKELY TO CONTINUE HARSH MEASURES AGAINST  
DISSIDENTS, REGARDLESS OF CONDEMNATION FROM ABROAD

1. SUMMARY: RECENT SUPPRESSION OF POLITICAL ACTIVITY IN  
OWAMBO LED TO UNREST AND OPEN DEFIANCE OF AUTHORITIES.  
IN TURN, SAG RETALIATED HARSHLY, MANY AFRICANS ARRESTED,  
SIZEABLE NUMBER INJURED BY POLICE. STRICT SECURITY MEASURES  
REMAIN IN EFFECT AND FORECAST IS FOR LONG SPELL OF  
INTENSIFIED REPRESSION OF NAMIBIAN BLACKS OPPOSED TO SAG.  
WHITES ENCOURAGED BY TOUGH ACTIONS THAT PRIME MINISTER VORSTER  
SANCTIONED, BY HIS ASSURANCES LAW AND ORDER WILL BE MAINTAINED,  
AND BY FACT DOOR REMAINS OPEN FOR EVENTUAL MERGER OF WHITE  
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AREA OF SWA WITH SOUTH AFRICA. ALL OF THIS SIGNALS SAG'S

REALIZATION DIALOGUE WITH UN MAY BE FINISHED AND ITS APPARENT DETERMINATION TO CARRY OUT ITS OWN PLANS FOR POLITICAL FUTURE OF NAMIBIA. END SUMMARY.

2. FROM MAY 1, WHEN OWAMBO, SWA'S MOST POPULOUS AFRICAN HOMELAND, WAS ACCORDED SELF-GOVERNING STATUS, A CHAIN OF EVENTS HAS LED TO INCREASED MILITANCY OF YOUTHFUL BLACK NAMIBIAN OPPONENTS OF SAG AND OWAMBO GOVERNMENT AND TO RUTHLESS AND, SO FAR, EFFECTIVE USE BY SAG OF ITS POLICE AND ARMY TO END OVERT MANIFESTATIONS OF DEFIANCE. TAKING FULL ADVANTAGE OF ITS NEW CONSTITUTIONAL POWERS TO CONTROL POLITICAL ACTIVITY, SAG-SUPPORTING OWAMBO GOVERNMENT ARRESTED SWAPO LEADERS AND PROSCRIBED POLITICAL MEETINGS. USE OF FORCE TO DISPERSE CROWD AT ONDANGUA MAY 21 (CAPE TOWN 406), ADDED TO GOVERNMENT'S UNPOPULARITY, WHICH WAS IRREFUTABLY DEMONSTRATED BY SUCCESS OF OWAMBO ELECTION BOYCOTT AUGUST 1-2 (PRETORIA 2710).

3. ELATED BY SUCCESS OF BOYCOTT, SWAPO YOUTH LEAGUE, WHICH HAD TAKEN LEAD IN ANTI-GOVERNMENT ACTIVITIES, ORGANIZED AND HELD POLITICAL RALLIES IN OWAMBO AND IN KATUTURA, WINDHOEK'S BLACK TOWNSHIP, AUGUST 12. AT KATUTURA RALLY, THEY MADE TACTICAL ERROR OF MAKING BELLICOSE SPEECHES WHICH LEFT THEM OPEN TO CHARGES OF INCITING VIOLENCE. INCREASING LEVEL OF MILITANCY LED TO SAG DECISION TO CRUSH SWAPO YOUTH LEAGUE, AND TO USE WHATEVER FORCE NECESSARY TO PUT AN END TO POLITICAL FERMENT AMONG OVAMBOS. THERE FOLLOWED ARRESTS OF YOUTH LEAGUE LEADERS, POLICE BRUTALITY IN ONDANGUA AUGUST 15, RAMPAGE BY OVAMBOS IN KATUTURA AUGUST 16, SEALING OFF OF KATUTURA BY SA POLICE AND ARMY AUGUST 19, AND FURTHER VIOLENCE THERE THAT DAY.

4. IMMEDIATE EFFECT OF UNRESTRAINED USE OF FORCE AND STRICT SECURITY MEASURES BY SAG HAS BEEN AN END TO YOUTH LEAGUE ACTIVITY. ITS LEADERSHIP HAS BEEN DEALT SEVERE BLOW AND, ACCORDING KNOWLEDGEABLE SOURCE, SOME PREVIOUSLY ACTIVE YOUTHS ARE DISPIRITED AND BELIEVE NOTHING CAN BE DONE TO BREAK SOUTH AFRICA'S GRIP ON TERRITORY. ON OTHER HAND, OTHERS HAVE CONCLUDED THAT IT NOW CLEAR THAT ONLY THROUGH VIOLENCE CAN BLACKS ACHIEVE THEIR GOAL OF SELF-DETERMINATION AND

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INDEPENDENCE.

5. WITH BOTH OWAMBO AND KATUTURA CLOSED TO OUTSIDERS, EXACT NUMBER OF PERSONS DETAINED AND THOSE SERIOUSLY INJURED BY POLICE NOT KNOWN. HOWEVER, RELIABLE SOURCE TOLD POL COUNSELOR, WHO IN WINDHOEK AUGUST 22-24, THAT FROM MAY THROUGH JULY TWENTY-FIVE PERSONS WERE ARRESTED FOR POLITICAL ACTIVITIES IN OWAMBO, AND DURING PAST TWO WEEKS AT LEAST

ANOTHER 45 HAVE BEEN DETAINED THERE. IN KATUTURA, FIVE SWAPO YOUTH LEAGUERS HAVE BEEN SEIZED (SEVEN ARE IN HIDING), ABOUT 270 OVAMBO WORKERS HAVE BEEN ARRESTED FOR BEING IN KATUTURA ILLEGALLY, AND ANOTHER 30 PERSONS HAVE BEEN CHARGED WITH CRIMINAL ACTS ARISING OUT OF THE KATUTURA DISTURBANCES. SOURCE SAID THAT IT LIKELY MORE ARRESTS WILL BE MADE.

6. ABSOLUTE PROHIBITION OF ENTRY INTO KATUTURA AND OWAMBO BY OUTSIDERS STILL IN EFFECT. NEWSPAPERMEN AND OTHER SOURCES IN WINDHOEK CONCLUDE THAT SAG DOES NOT WANT KNOWN THE FULL EXTENT OF VIOLENCE EMPLOYED BY POLICE DURING DISTURBANCES AND THE NUMBER OF AFRICANS HOSPITALIZED OR KILLED (ONE KNOWN DEAD). JOURNALISTS HAVE ARGUED UNAVAILINGLY WITH AUTHORITIES THAT SUPPRESSION OF FACTS WILL ONLY LEND CREDENCE TO WHATEVER CLAIMS ARE MADE ABROAD ABOUT EVENTS IN SWA.

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 PRETORIA 3054

7. PRIME MINISTER VORSTER HAS MADE IT CLEAR SAG WILL TOLERATE NO FURTHER DISORDER OR ANY UNACCEPTABLE KIND OF POLITICAL ACTIVITY IN SWA. DECISION TO GET TOUGH WAS MADE BY VORSTER AND, IN KEEPING WITH HIS PRESENT VERKRAMPTE MOOD (PRETORIA A-159), IT CAN BE EXPECTED THAT FULL PRESSURE OF SAG'S SECURITY APPARATUS WILL BE MAINTAINED AGAINST BLACK DISSIDENTS. THIS DOES NOT NECESSARILY MEAN NATIONAL CONVENTION (NC) OR EVEN SWAPO WILL BE BANNED (HIGH-LEVEL SAG OFFICIAL IN WINDHOEK TOLD POL COUNSELOR THERE NO PLAN AFOOT TO DO THIS), BUT IT DOES MEAN HARSH ACTION WILL BE TAKEN AGAINST ANY INDIVIDUALS WHO STEP OUT OF LINE. IN OPINION OF SEVERAL WELL INFORMED SOUTHWESTERS, A HEAVY ATMOSPHERE OF REPRESSION WILL PREVAIL IN NAMIBIA FOR MONTHS TO COME.

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8. THROUGHOUT RECENT UNREST IN OWAMBO AND KATUTURA, LEADERS OF NATIONAL CONVENTION (CONFEDERATION OF ANTI-SAG BLACK POLITICAL GROUPS IN NAMIBIA), MAINTAINED UNCHARACTERISTICALLY LOW PROFILE. ALTHOUGH POL COUNSELOR NOT PERMITTED ENTER KATUTURA, HE MANAGED SEE CHIEF CLEMENS KAPUUNO (NC DEPUTY CHAIRMAN) AND GERSON VEII (NC FOREIGN AFFAIRS SECRETARY). THEY DENIED REPORTS, WHICH SEEMED WELL FOUNDED, THAT SWAPO YOUTH LEAGUERS ANGRY BECAUSE NC GAVE THEM NO SUPPORT, MORAL OR OTHERWISE. KAPUUNO AND VEII SAID THEY AGAINST USE OF VIOLENCE AND OPPOSED ABORTIVE GENERAL STRIKE OF AUGUST 20 BECAUSE IT PRECIPITANTLY CALLED, POORLY ORGANIZED AND FOREDOOMED TO FAILURE.

9. STRONG MEASURES TAKEN BY SAG HAVE WON WHOLEHEARTED APPROVAL OF MAJORITY OF WHITES IN NAMIBIA. ACCORDING TO INFORMED SOURCES, HOWEVER, VORSTER'S STATEMENT AT SWA NATIONAL PARTY CONGRESS AUGUST 21 THAT PRETORIA WOULD NOT DECIDE THE FUTURE OF SWA CAUSED CONSTERNATION AMONG MANY WHITES. IN PRIVATE, THOUGH, VORSTER LET IT BE KNOWN THAT IF AT SOME POINT IN FUTURE WHITES OPT FOR POLITICAL ASSOCIATION WITH SOUTH AFRICA, SAG WILL ACCEDE TO THEIR REQUEST.

10. COMMENT: BY CONTINUING TO MOVE SWA HOMELANDS TOWARD SELF-GOVERNMENT, SUPPRESSING POLITICAL OPPOSITION IN OWAMBO, EMPLOYING EXCESSIVE FORCE THERE AND IN KATUTURA, AND ASSURING WHITES THAT UN WILL NOT DETERMINE THEIR FATE AND THAT EVENTUAL MERGER WITH SA STILL POSSIBLE, VORSTER HAS MADE IT CLEAR HE SEES LITTLE OR NO FUTURE FOR DIALOGUE WITH UN. HIS ACTIONS AND STATEMENTS ALSO INDICATE HE APPARENTLY CONTEMPTUOUS OF ABILITY OF UN TO DO ANYTHING TO STOP SOUTH AFRICA FROM DETERMINING THE POLITICAL FUTURE OF NAMIBIA. HIS OPEN DEFIANCE WILL, OF COURSE, ADD FUEL TO

CONDEMNATION OF SOUTH AFRICA, INCREASE LIKELIHOOD OF CALLS  
FOR SANCTIONS, AND MAKE LIFE ALL THE MORE DIFFICULT FOR  
WESTERN NATIONS WHICH DO NOT GIVE FULL SUPPORT TO UN  
RESOLUTIONS FOR SANCTIONS.  
SMITH

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## Message Attributes

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